

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1964--JUNE 1964



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John Edgar Hoover, Director

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PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

During the six-month period from January, 1964, through June, 1964, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), attacked United States foreign policy on practically all fronts. According to the communists, the peace of the world is endangered by aggressive United States policies in Southeast Asia--Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. They demand that we withdraw from Southeast Asia and allow the people there to solve their own problems.

The Party points to the recognition of Communist China by General de Gaulle as a starting point for the easing of tension in that area. It urges Washington to follow de Gaulle's lead and establish diplomatic and trade relations not only with Communist China but with North Korea and North Vietnam as well. The prediction is made that China will be admitted to the United Nations (UN) before the year is out. However, the CPUSA accuses some Chinese communist leaders of trying to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the underdeveloped nations, as well as the communist countries of Eastern Europe. This is characterized as an attempt to split the international movement that has tipped the scales on the side of peace, progress, and socialism.

The CPUSA contends that the existence of the socialist countries has made it possible for scores of nations to achieve independence and freedom in

a very short time and that Africans are looking to socialism, not capitalism, for their future. A joint statement issued by Premier Khrushchev and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic (UAR) in May, 1964, was interpreted as an indication that the African states support the concept of peaceful coexistence.

The governments of most of the countries of Central and South America are corrupt, in the opinion of the Party. It charges that the United States has interfered in the internal affairs of various countries of the Organization of American States (OAS) and has caused a further degeneration of democracy. The communists claim that Latin America has now been engulfed by the tidal wave of anticolonialism that swept Asia and Africa. They cite as an example the protests of the people of Panama. Restoration of trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba is one of the Party's propaganda themes.

The CPUSA asserts that the United States can no longer dictate to its allies; that only West Germany, among the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partners, has pledged technical and other help in the "dirty war against South Vietnam." The Johnson administration, it is alleged, will have to awaken from a dream world or the United States will find itself isolated from the world as it moves into the future. Senator Fulbright's speech in which he envisioned the necessity for "unthinkable thoughts" is lauded as reflecting the needs of our day.

Repeatedly, the communists warn of dangers from dictatorial power and aggressive activities of "the military-industrial complex." They labeled the address President Johnson made to the graduating class of the Coast Guard Academy as "bomb-waving" and said that only Pentagon careerists and those vested interests among the armaments contractors were made happy by it.

Following precedent, the communists placed heavy emphasis on the movement for civil rights. They continued their demands for the use of Federal troops and other law enforcement personnel throughout the South and reiterated that they have always advocated full freedom and equality for Negroes. Nevertheless, their demand for Negro-white unity and their interpretation of the Negroes' efforts as a revolutionary struggle which is preparing all "class forces" for a revolution leading to "socialism" reveal the communists' real interest in the civil rights movement.

The President's program for war against poverty is also related to the class struggle. The statement is made that the program will enroll the impoverished masses and will manifest itself as the main front of the working-class struggle against the monopolists.

While declaring that the only permanent cure for economic ills is "socialism," the Party offers numerous "immediate demands" to combat the impact of automation and to improve the lot of the working class--a 30-hour workweek, double-time pay as a minimum for all overtime, a massive public

works program, a \$2 minimum wage, and repeal of all "antilabor" legislation. In connection with other legislative matters, the CPUSA denounced the tax cut as class legislation weighted in the interests of the rich. Medicare is considered a possible first step in the right direction, although further social legislation is deemed necessary. Above all, the Party is giving top priority to its all-out campaign for the repeal of the McCarran Act.

The communists assert that, in this election year, they have a great contribution to make in mobilizing the maximum number of Americans to defeat the ultraright. They say that the choice between candidates will be merely the lesser of two evils, in most cases. Thus, the possibility of communist write-in candidates is not ruled out.

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, is making mass appeals for support for its foreign-policy objectives. For example, almost all segments of our society have been requested to "focus their demands upon Washington to make a radical shift away from aggression and toward the consolidation of peace in respect to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Cuba." Increased emphasis will, no doubt, be placed on such requests as the 1964 elections draw near.
2. With the passage of the civil rights bill, the communists may be expected to seek propaganda value from any problems arising from its implementation.
3. While the President's program for war against poverty is seen as a step in the right direction, the CPUSA claims that it does not go far enough. In the words of the communists, "If capitalism does not abolish mass poverty, the impoverished masses will abolish capitalism."

4. The Party has set as a goal the repeal of the McCarran Act before the end of the year.
5. The CPUSA continued to follow the lead of the Soviet Union in propaganda for peace and peaceful coexistence. The Party emphasized need for solidarity of the working people of all lands to further the cause of peace, brotherhood, and prosperity. The labor unions in the United States have been urged to intensify activities on behalf of peace-- peace on communist terms, that is.
6. The claim that "socialism" alone will solve economic and social problems has been made throughout this six-month period and will undoubtedly be made in the next six-month period.

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. U.S. policy, a disgrace to the American tradition, is collapsing not just in Southeast Asia but all over that continent.
2. Washington can no longer dictate to its allies. The neo-Nazis and monopolists of West Germany are the only partners among the NATO countries who offered to help in South Vietnam.
3. The people of Southeast Asia have the right to self-determination and should be allowed to solve their own problems.
4. General de Gaulle's recognition of the People's Republic of China is a starting point for the solution of problems in that area. Washington should establish diplomatic relations not only with China but also with North Vietnam and North Korea and support the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.
5. Africans are looking to socialism, not capitalism, for their future. The joint statement issued by Premier Khrushchev and UAR President Nasser attests to this fact. It indicates, too, that the new African states reject the concept that peaceful coexistence is impossible.
6. The governments in most of the countries of Central and South America are corrupt. U.S. intervention in the affairs of these countries has caused a further degeneration of democracy.
7. Senator Fulbright's speech in which he said that we must dare to think "unthinkable thoughts" reflects the needs of our day. This country's cold war policies are in growing contradiction to the realities of today's world.
8. Fidel Castro has offered to restore diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S. This country should accept the offer.

9. Some of the leaders of the Communist Party of China are trying to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the underdeveloped nations, as well as the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. This is an attempt to split the force that has tipped the scales on the side of peace, progress, and socialism. The Chinese will fail in this attempt, as did the forces of imperialism who have also made such an attempt.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. U.S. Policy in Asia Collapsing

"...the U.S. position in Southeast Asia is deteriorating at an accelerated pace. This is the result of the persistence of the Johnson administration in adhering to a policy which has disgraced the American tradition and is now costing us huge sums of money and material and lives of an increasing number of American young men."

The Worker,
May 3, 1963, p. 11.

"The Johnson administration apparently is ready to concede the collapse of the foreign policy in relation to Europe..."

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"THE VERY FACT that Washington has been forced to call on its West European satellites in NATO is in itself a confession of the bankruptcy of U.S. policy in Asia. It shows that Rusk and McNamara have been unable to find allies in the countries of Southeast Asia they are trying to force into submission by hot war, intrigue and conspiracy--or even in the rest of the Asian continent...."

"The present crisis in Laos is to the point. Washington is now trying to blame the situation there on the Laotian patriots in Pathet Lao...."

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"BUT THE PRESENT U.S. policy is not only crumbling in Southeast Asia, it is collapsing all over that continent....

"The efforts to isolate North Korea are now being rejected by Washington's allies. In recent months, Japanese and French bankers and industrialists have been negotiating with the government of North Korea for the development of trade. The French have also been carrying on talks with the government of North Vietnam for the building of industrial plants there.

"But the most revealing example of Washington's failure is the report out of London that South Korea is seeking reunion with North Korea. For years now, the people of South Korea have been in ferment as they sought independence, peace and food."

The Worker,
May 31, 1964, p. 9.

2. Most NATO Partners Unwilling To Follow Washington's Lead

"The truth of the matter is that Washington can no longer even dictate to the tiniest of its allied regimes on foreign policy.... While the Johnson administration still persists in an economic embargo of Cuba, Britain consummates a big bus order... Washington holds on to the dessicated Chiang Kai-shek, but France prepares for diplomatic recognition... the West German bankers and industrialists carry on a profitable trade with the German Democratic Republic, while continuing to blackmail the Johnson administration into withholding recognition... Britain and the countries of Western Europe, including West Germany, keep increasing trade with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. But Washington continues to discourage such trade..."

"The Johnson administration will have to awaken from the dream world in which it still dozes. Otherwise, the U.S. will find itself isolated from the world as it moves into the future...."

The Worker,
January 26, 1964, p. 11.

"THE NATO MINISTERS' parley revealed an unwillingness by almost all the members of NATO to follow Washington's lead on anything..."

"THE FIRST arm-twisting came over Rusk's attempt to get Britain and the other NATO countries to participate in an economic blockade of the Cuban Republic. But the pressure did not succeed. Britain and the others rejected the proposal entirely..."

"But even more imminently dangerous and irresponsible was the effort of Rusk to suck Britain, Italy and West Germany into active partnership for Washington's dirty war against the peoples of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos..."

"The French colonialists seeking rapprochement with the countries of South Asia are not willing to become catspaws for Washington.

"The only willing partners Rusk and McNamara found were the neo-Nazis and monopolists of West Germany, who have pledged technical and other help in the dirty war against South Vietnam."

The Worker,
May 31, 1964, p. 9.

"Erhard promised, in the joint communique with Johnson, to increase economic and political support to the Nguyen Khanh dictatorship in South Vietnam, and denounced North Vietnam as an aggressor.

"Erhard's support had been solicited by a visit of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to Bonn several weeks ago. The Johnson administration sought it to offset French opposition to U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, and because of the failure of the other U.S. allies to take any substantial action supporting the U.S. there."

The Worker,
June 16, 1964, p. 7.

3. Let Southeast Asia Solve Own Problems

"The peace movement, the labor, religious and Negro people's organizations, the youth, and women--all America must heed the alarm sounded by Sen. Morse and call upon President Johnson to bring our troops from Vietnam and to leave the people there free to seek a just solution to the civil conflict in conformation with their right to self determination."

The Worker,
March 15, 1964, p. 3.

"Henry Winston... ended an inspiring address at the May Day celebration..."

"...his call for the removal of the 7th fleet of the U.S. Navy, and 'let the people of Viet Nam and Southeast Asia solve their own problems.' He said he agreed with the view of Claude Lightfoot, leading spokesman of the Communist Party in Illinois, who had preceded him that 'if we can't solve the problems of the Negro in the United States, how are we going to solve the problems of Viet Nam?'"

The Worker,
May 10, 1964, p. 4.

"Neither is the interest of our people nor the cause of world peace served by the violations of the borders of Cambodia and of Laos by U.S. fliers and armed forces.

"On the contrary, our nation is dishonored and the peace of the world menaced by such reckless acts of aggression. The Administration must be compelled to see that the continued prosecution of these military adventures in Southeast Asia also further emboldens the dangerous influence of the ultra-Right political forces in the life of our country. Therefore, even from the narrowest partisan interests, not to speak of the broad humanitarian precepts which are being so shamelessly broken, the Johnson administration must take

a new course, a course of ending hostilities and withdrawing U. S. armed forces from Vietnam and all Southeast Asia."

The Worker,
May 31, 1964, pp. 3, 11.

"In South Vietnam itself, the savage slaughter of the people goes on with a new intensity as the puppet premier Nguyen Khanh, responds to the prodding of U. S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to 'get on with' the already 12-year-old war by successive tyrannical governments against the nation's armed patriots."

The Worker,
June 16, 1964, p. 2.

4. Relations with Communist China, North Korea, North Vietnam

"It will follow that France will add her influence to the side of those who have been consistently fighting to secure China's rightful status in the high council of the UN. It is likely that the delegation from the People's Republic of China will come to New York and take its seats in the Security Council and General Assembly before the year is over. So, the inglorious policy of trying to isolate China diplomatically and strangle her economically, which Washington has followed for the past 14 years, has come to naught."

The Worker,
January 26, 1964, p. 3.

"WHEN FRANCE'S Charles de Gaulle moved to establish diplomatic relations with the Peoples Republic of China, he attested to the fact that recognition of the power of Peking in the Far East is a starting point for a realistic approach to the solution of problems of conflict and tension in that area."

"This means that Washington must break with its head-in-the-sand attitude to these governments which have been in existence continuously for years-- unlike South Vietnam, where the U.S. has recognized three governments in one season. It calls for Washington to establish communications and diplomatic relations not only with China but with the People's Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of North Korea."

The Worker,
February 4, 1964, p. 2.

"The time has long since been overdue for Washington to recognize the government at Peking, to support the seating of the Peoples Republic of China in her rightful seat in the United Nations, and to open serious discussions at the negotiating table toward the resolution of conflicting claims and interests for the normalization of trade relations and for the relief of war tensions in the world."

The Worker,
June 16, 1964, p. 2.

5. Africans Looking to Socialism, Not Capitalism, for Their Future

"Henry Winston, Negro Communist leader, will land at a N.Y. airport Feb. 29 after a stopover in London."

"Winston has learned from the Africans themselves that they are looking to socialism, not capitalism, for their future."

The Worker,
February 18, 1964, p. 4.

"THE JOINT statement last Monday of Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Egyptian President Nasser marks a new stage in the relationship of forces in the world today...."

"It... indicates a rejection by the new nation-states of the concept that peaceful coexistence is impossible.

"The Khrushchev-Nasser statement further underscored the movement of the new nation-states of Africa toward a planned socialist system as the only way to achieve full and complete national independence. And it made clear the recognition by the new nation-states of the Soviet and socialist countries' role in this."

The Worker,
May 31, 1964, p. 1.

6. Degeneration of Democracy in OAS Countries

"In most of the countries of Central and South America the governments are corrupt and in control of a small group of bigoted families who are the instruments through which the U.S. monopolies dictate their policies of slavery."

The Worker,
January 26, 1964, p. 10.

" 'THE COMMUNIST PARTY of the USA unalterably condemns recognition of the forces which under direction of military leaders, now control the government of Brazil,' said Gus Hall, its foremost spokesman, last Thursday...."

" 'The Communist Party USA unqualifiedly condemns the ruthless colonial exploitation of Brazil's national resources.... It calls upon American

youth and the American people, lovers of peace and good neighborly relations, regardless of color, creed or political belief, to categorically condemn the attitude of this government and American monopoly toward Brazil and its people.' "

The Worker,
April 14, 1964, p. 8.

"In spite of all the ballyhoo in respect to the Alliance for Progress, actual investment and direct financial or economic aid from the U.S. to Latin American countries have amounted to an inconsequential trickle and have provided the millions who suffer the pangs of starvation no relief whatsoever.

"The intervention of Washington in the internal affairs of the OAS countries not only has not arrested the deteriorating economies but has been accompanied by a further degeneration of democracy and a proliferation of military coups, as in Brazil, and popular repressions, as in Venezuela."

The Worker,
May 26, 1964, p. 2.

7. Senator Fulbright's Speech Reflects Needs of Our Day

"The net effect of the Fulbright speech has been to raise the election year debate over foreign policy to the level of the national interest."

The Worker,
March 31, 1964, p. 1.

"When Fulbright underscores, time and again, 'We must dare to think about "unthinkable thoughts," ' he is saying we must put an end to the cold-war prejudices and misconceptions that have long plagued our country under both Republican and Democratic administrations...."

"... It is no exaggeration to say that what the Encyclical Pacem in Terris, of the now deceased Pope John XXIII, achieved in the religious arena by shaking up the Catholic world on the need of adjusting to the new evolving world, can be achieved in the political arena by the speech of the Senator. A foreign policy which separates myth from reality, breaks with outmoded ideas and practices, bases itself on 'current world politics' in this 'complex and rapidly changing world,' is a new* policy, a policy leading away from the cold war, a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. That is why Senator Fulbright's speech reflects the needs of our day."

"The Country Needs a New Foreign Policy," Political Affairs, May, 1964, pp. 7, 9.

"Our government's cold war foreign policies, for example, are based on myths; hence they are in growing contradiction to the realities of today's world. This is why Senator Fulbright's myth-busting speeches have had such deep reverberations."

Gus Hall, "Myths Or Realities: Communists and Catholics," Political Affairs, May, 1964, p. 14.

"... While President Johnson, judging by his March 16th address to the Organization of American States in Washington, does not recognize the changing tide of events in Latin America, others do. That anti-communism is not the answer in Latin America--or elsewhere for that matter--was most significantly stated later that same month by none other than Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee...."

John Alfred, "Latin America in Ferment," Political Affairs, May, 1964. p. 65.

*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

8. Accept Castro's Extended Hand

" 'Instead of a trade barrier with Cuba, ' . . . 'we should cultivate trade relations with Cuba. ' "

" . . . trade relations with all the socialist nations. "

The Worker,
March 15, 1964, p. 3.

"PEACE DEMANDS that President Johnson junk the advice of his Thomas Manns and respond to the reasoned offer and accept the extended hand of Fidel Castro and the government of the heroic Cuban people, which wants to restore anew diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S. but, of course, solely on the basis of equality and mutual self interest and peace. "

The Worker,
April 26, 1964, p. 3.

"A TRUTH THAT HAS proven irrepressible is the truth that 'CUBA IS!' Yes, Cuba--free independent, democratic, and socialist. . . "

"The vital interest of our people in world peace, the ever-increasing material interest of our people. . . urgently call for new demands upon President Johnson to restore normal and equal diplomatic relations with Cuba. "

The Worker,
May 26, 1964, p. 2.

9. Communist China Trying To Split Forces of Peace, Progress, Socialism

"THE LATEST statement of the Communist Party of China. . .

" . . . presents a political and philosophical thesis seeking to justify the splitting of the working class and its organizations as a necessary and even

desirable thing. It is a thesis that glorifies irresponsible, disruptive factional activities aimed at splitting Communist parties--that sets disunity as a goal for which to strive."

"A THESIS which justifies splitting ranks can at no time be in the interests of the working class. It is a disservice to the struggle for world peace, harmful to the struggle against imperialism and for colonial liberation, and detrimental to the struggles for democracy and for socialism."

The Worker,
February 16, 1964, p. 3.

"ANY ATTEMPT to drive a wedge between the under-developed nations on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, as well as the eastern European countries of Socialism on the other hand, is doomed to failure. For years imperialism has tried to pull off this feat but in vain....

"Therefore, it is all the more appalling that some leaders of the Communist Party of China, because of their own narrow factional purposes, are following a policy of attempting to drive the same wedge. But this attempt is also doomed.

"... It is an attempt to split the force that tipped the scales on the side of peace, progress and Socialism.

"WHO CAN NOW DENY that it is the existence of the Socialist countries, and in the first place the Soviet Union, that has made possible the historic mass leap to independence and freedom by scores of nations and peoples within a very short period of years?..."

The Worker,
May 17, 1964, p. 3.

"PRAGUE--The Chinese Communist Party leadership was charged here with trying to create dissension among the peoples of Czechoslovakia....

"The newspaper published a copy of a letter sent by the Chinese to Czech Communists and diplomats, which urged them to plot to defeat the present government in the national elections next month.

"The Chinese sought, by their letter, to split the electorate of Czechoslovakia, with appeals to chauvinism. They singled out for attack the leadership of the Communist party in Slovakia, in a blatant maneuver to split the Czechoslovaks on national lines."

The Worker,
June 7, 1964, p. 2.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Much evidence has come to light indicating that Lee Harvey Oswald was an undercover informer for a U.S. agency.
2. The war on poverty will enroll the impoverished masses themselves and will manifest itself as the main front of the working-class struggle against the monopolists.
3. The fight against poverty must be tied in with the fight for peace. No less than \$20, 000, 000, 000 can be cut from the military budget and used to combat poverty.
4. A crash program of public works, financed by a reduction in military expenditures and concentrated on building housing, hospitals, schools, et cetera, is needed. Such a program would provide employment for the unemployed and help meet the long-held needs of the people.
5. Trade with socialist countries would provide desperately needed markets for U.S. goods and jobs for tens of thousands of workers now unemployed.
6. The building of working class-Negro unity is the building of the foundation for victory over monopoly capitalism in all its forms and manifestations.
7. The over-all tactic for the 1964 elections is how to mobilize the maximum number of Americans to defeat the ultraright. In most cases, the choice will be merely the lesser of two evils. In this effort, communists and all other left forces have a great contribution to make. Communists must not rule out the possibility of communist write-in candidates.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Oswald Undercover Informer of U.S. Agency?

"MORE EVIDENCE has come to light to confirm the theory that Lee Harvey Oswald was an undercover informer for a U.S. agency."

"...the press has been fed stories from alleged 'authoritative government' sources designed to shift responsibility for the assassination from the Birchites and kindred rightist elements."

The Worker,
January 12, 1964, p. 1.

"Why is Marina Oswald held incommunicado?... Does she have evidence to back the mounting material pointing to a link between Oswald and U.S. undercover agencies?..."

The Worker,
January 19, 1964, p. 2.

"... Was Oswald in the employ of one of the undercover agencies of the U.S. as indicated by much evidence that came to light since then?"

The Worker,
May 31, 1964, p. 3.

2. War on Poverty Main Front of Class Struggle

"The 'War on Poverty' Slogan--Starting Point for a Program of Mass Struggle"

The Worker,
March 1, 1964, pp. 6-7.

"... the trade unions 'must be in the forefront' in this fight.

" 'If capitalism does not abolish mass poverty, the impoverished masses will abolish capitalism.' "

The Worker,
March 15, 1964, p. 3.

"The masses have become conscious of their relative and absolute misery. And, mass action will follow mass consciousness, as day follows night."

"... Ultimately the War against Poverty will enroll the impoverished masses themselves. Then the War Against Poverty will manifest itself with even greater clarity as the main front of the working class struggle against the monopolists.

"The struggle against the monopolists is a struggle for structural social change, a struggle to take the job rights, and consequently the destiny of man's life, out of the hands of private business men, along with the corporate magnates who dominate the business of production and distribution of all the material and social values which are vitally necessary to the life and happiness of man."

The Worker,
March 29, 1964, pp. 6, 9.

"The anti-poverty program is in a certain sense a companion-cause to the Civil Rights movement. Victory for one cause requires the active solidarity and participation of the forces committed in the other. The greatest mobilization of popular opinion and demonstrative expression of the will of the people must be focused on the Senate to compel passage--without crippling amendments--of the Civil Rights Bill, and the same forces must let the members of the House know that immediate action on the anti-poverty bill is demanded."

The Worker,
May 24, 1964, p. 3.

3. Finance War on Poverty with Funds Used To Fight Cold War

"The fight against poverty must be tied in with the fight for peace. The idea of obtaining the necessary funds by reducing military expenditures should be developed into a demand that the war-chest for the anti-poverty war be increased from \$1 billion to \$15-20 billion and that for the cold war be correspondingly decreased."

Hyman Lumer, "President Johnson's Economic Program," Political Affairs, March, 1964, p. 17.

"... where could such capital for commitment to the war against poverty come from? In the first place, it would have to be taken from the front of the COLD WAR. America will have to choose now, whether it is to waste further billions of dollars in the Cold War military adventuring in South Viet Nam, or invest 5 billion dollars this year in the war to free a million of our own citizens from poverty."

The Worker,
March 29, 1964, p. 9.

"... none of the questions now facing the country can be solved unless real steps are taken toward total disarmament. Taxes cannot be reduced; the social and economic needs of the people cannot be met; unemployment cannot be tackled sincerely, and the war against poverty cannot even be launched properly unless this happens."

The Worker,
April 26, 1964, p. 11.

"The fight against poverty is inseparable from the fight for peace and disarmament, for the billions now squandered on arms are obtained at the expense of the public welfare and social needs of the people. The war chest for the war on poverty must be swelled by sharply reducing that of the cold war.

What is called for is a cut of no less than \$20 billion in military to combat poverty."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 6.

4. Public Works Program; Reduction of Military Expenditures

"A VAST PROGRAM of socially-needed constructions especially, housing, hospitals, schools--must be the foundation stone in any meaningful program to alleviate the plight of the fifth of our nation which is sunk in the quagmire of poverty and another fifth who live from day to day under conditions of extreme deprivation.

"This would require a vast capital investment in value-creating projects designed to meet long-held needs of the people. Such a gigantic home building, school construction and hospital erecting program would fill out the unused plant capacity, require a further expansion of the industrial plant and reabsorb millions of the almost 6 million unemployed."

"THIS IS the choice: Either we will continue the capital investment of billions in the arms race and the cold war, or we will secure the peace in one area after another through negotiation, and free this capital for investment in people."

The Worker,
March 29, 1964, pp. 6-7, 9.

"...a crash public works program at union wages, starting with a minimum outlay of \$10 billion the first year and rising to \$20 billion a year thereafter, the funds to come from a progressive reduction of military expenditures. Such a program should concentrate especially on building housing, schools, hospitals, etc., in Negro ghetto and other depressed areas and on providing suitable employment in areas affected by reconversion to peacetime production."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

5. Communist Countries Potential Market for U. S. Goods

"THOSE 400 NEW BUSES Cuba has just ordered from British manufacturers for \$10.6 millions could just as easily have been made by the 6,000 Studebaker workers fired in South Bend, Ind. They could have been shipped to Cuba in vessels manned by seamen now on the beach in the U.S.

"Washington's Cuban policy is getting more ridiculous every day. Isn't it time for the Johnson administration to reverse it?"

The Worker,
January 12, 1964, p. 3.

"The vast production plant of the United States is in increasingly desperate need of new orders--especially for capital goods--which can make for an increase in the working force. China with its 700 million people who are engaged in great construction and development activities is such a potential market."

The Worker,
January 26, 1964, p. 3.

"Increase trade with all nations, with removal of all bars to extending trade and credit to the socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China and Cuba."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

"... With a further improvement in the international climate, trade with the socialist countries and the new developing nations, if it will be trade based on mutual reciprocity and equal treatment, provides unlimited possibilities for expansion. And such trade expansion would be beneficial not only to the socialist countries but to the United States as well, providing jobs for tens of thousands of workers now unemployed."

"The Country Needs a New Foreign Policy," Political Affairs,
May, 1964, p. 12.

6. Working Class-Negro Unity Foundation for Victory over Capitalism

"The Negro peoples revolutionary struggle is mobilizing and activizing and educating in the arts of struggle all the class forces requisite for conduct of the general social revolution for conducting successful struggles for genuine economic and political democracy, and for advancing the cause of the general social revolution against the reign of the monopolists as such, for a new stage in the advancement of the nation, for socialism."

The Worker,
March 29, 1964, p. 9.

"...All future progress in our land rests on the crucial question of working class-Negro peoples unity. The building of this unity, based on the struggle to end all forms of discrimination is the building of the foundation for victory over monopoly capitalism in all its forms and manifestations."

The Worker,
May 17, 1964, p. 3.

7. Mobilize To Defeat Ultraright

"Our over-all 1964 tactics must be directed toward the following central tasks:

"How to mobilize the maximum number of Americans to express themselves politically against the ultra-Right. At this level the choice by millions against the ultra-Right in most cases will be merely a choice of the lesser of two evils."

"...our over-all electoral policy must deal with the question of Communist Party participation. It seems to me that we should not rule out even the possibility of Communist write-in candidates for president and vice-president. Also it would seem a serious mistake not to fight for and have some

Communists running for office, through whatever political channels are available...."

The Worker,
January 5, 1964, p. 9.

"The Johnson administration cannot win a Presidential victory by me-tooing the ultra-Right pro-war program."

The Worker,
February 2, 1964, p. 11.

"There is only one sure way to victory over the ultra-Right threat. And this is not to rely on Johnson to defeat Goldwater in November any more than it was possible to rely on Rockefeller and Eisenhower to defeat him in the GOP. IT IS TO RELY ON THE UNITY AND ACTION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, THE PEACE FORCES, THE FARMERS, THE YOUTH, THE SENIOR CITIZENS, THE PROFESSIONALS, ALL MEN AND WOMEN DESIRING PEACE AND EQUALITY, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL ADVANCE. Only such unity and action on every level, on single issues and on a whole peoples progressive program can counteract the pressures from the ultra-Right on the Johnson Administration and the Democratic Party in this election and create the climate and the instruments through which the people's interests can be advanced after the November elections.

"In this great effort the Communists and all other left forces have a great contribution to make.... a united, clear, militant left, working as an integral part of the great democratic coalition of the millions and tens of millions will thereby also be most effectively advancing their program of basic and radical change."

The Worker,
June 14, 1964, p. 3.

"In previous periods the struggle in the GOP was between conservatives and liberals, between William Howard Taft, Charles Evans Hughes and Elihu Root, on the one side, and such liberals as Robert LaFollette, George Norris, and Fiorello La Guardia, on the other hand.

"Today the conflict is between the Rights such as Nelson Rockefeller, and the ultra-Right such as Goldwater.

"The Rights, with an aggressive foreign and anti-labor policy, and with an anti-labor program such as presented recently by Scranton and Gov. Romney, in the state legislatures of Pennsylvania and Michigan, have naturally not mounted the kind of a campaign in the GOP that could mobilize the millions of Republican voters to crush the ultra-Right forces."

The Worker,
June 16, 1964, pp. 1. 7.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. To help meet the job problem, there should be a 30-hour workweek, double-time pay as a minimum for all overtime, and a crash public works program. The minimum wage must be raised to \$2 an hour.
2. The nationalization of industries is necessary to combat the destructive impact of automation.
3. Only socialism will bring full employment and rapid advances in living conditions for the working people.
4. Unity, joint action, and mutual support must be the guidelines for the civil rights and labor movements. Organized labor has the responsibility of mobilizing all workers, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, young and old, in the fight against the giant monopolies.
5. The preservation of peace is the first task of honor of our working class and of the workers of the whole world. There is a need for solidarity of the working people of all lands to further the cause of peace, brotherhood, and prosperity. Unity can halt the U.S. war program in South Vietnam and end invasions against Cuba, intervention in Latin America, and colonialism everywhere.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Shorter Workweek; \$2 Minimum Wage; Minimum Double-Time Overtime; Public Works Program

"I FULLY AGREE with those who say that 35 hours would not fully meet the job problem, and that an effective program must combine a many-sided approach. Even a 35-hour week plus a cut in overtime and moonlighting would not fully meet the problem. The labor movement is right in stressing an expanded works

program; \$2.00 hour minimum; and end of discrimination; special efforts to revitalize the chronically depressed areas; modernized unemployment insurance; medical care for the aged; youth training and employment; expansion and improvement of hospitals and nursing homes; better education, etc., etc."

The Worker,
January 26, 1964, p. 5.

"LAUNCH a crash public works program at union wages..

"Reduce the standard work week to 30 hours with no cut in earnings."

"Establish double-time pay as a minimum for all overtime, to discourage its use while workers remain unemployed."

"RAISE the minimum wage to \$2 an hour and extend coverage to all wage workers."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

2. Nationalization of Industries To Combat Destructive Impact
of Automation

"The coal industry has proved incapable of meeting its responsibilities to the country. We therefore propose national ownership of the nation's coal mines, with full recognition of the United Mine Workers as the bona fide bargaining agent for the miners. Coal mining has already been nationalized in such advanced capitalist countries as Great Britain, France and West Germany."

The Worker,
February 16, 1964, p. 5.

"A...key issue is the destructive impact of automation on large sections of the American working people. The concrete tackling of this problem demands clearly defined positions on such specific issues as the thirty-hour week, nationalization of industries, labor and government control of automated processes, large government economic programs for jobs and social welfare, etc."

Gus Hall, "Myths Or Realities: Communists and Catholics," Political Affairs, May, 1964, p. 21.

3. Socialism Alone Will Bring Full Employment

"In America, and elsewhere, socialism alone will bring stable full employment with rapid advances in living conditions, complete security, and broad opportunities in all fields for working people. But he who insists on socialism first, ignoring practical struggles for full employment now, will be ignored by the majority."

The Worker,
February 23, 1964, p. 5.

"...it is essential to deal not only with the fact of poverty but with its causes...It must be made clear that poverty is a menace which threatens all workers, that it has its roots in their exploitation and robbery at the hands of the big capitalists--a process which will come to an end only with the end of capitalism and its replacement by a socialist society."

Hyman Lumer, "President Johnson's Economic Program," Political Affairs, March, 1964, p. 17.

"Mankind does not exist for the sake of profit. Men work and produce not to enrich a few but in order that all may live better. To wipe out poverty means to wipe out the profit system, which stands in the way of this aspiration. It means that the factories, mines and mills of our country must be owned by the people themselves and operated for their benefit--for use, not for

profit. In such an America--a socialist America--abundance will cease to be a 'problem.' No one will be unemployed and no one will be poor. Our tremendous productive capacity will provide for the well-being and security of all."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 7.

4. Negro-Labor Unity, Joint Action, Necessary

"Unity, joint action, mutual support, let these be the guide-lines of the civil rights and labor movements."

The Worker,
January 26, 1964, p. 4.

"Political struggles of organized labor for basic reforms... are in essence struggles, directed against the monopolies, for the extension of democracy. As such, they dovetail with and are dependent on other democratic movements, similarly anti-monopoly in character. On the one hand, the demand for such measures as, say, price controls involves not labor alone but all sections of the people affected by monopoly price-gouging. On the other hand, labor's success in achieving its own objectives is clearly dependent on that of the civil rights movement in its struggles to democratize the South and end the power of the Dixiecrats, and to remove the drag which Jim Crow imposes on the wages and living standards of all workers in all parts of the country. Likewise, labor's future depends on the outcome of the all-important struggle for peace. In fact, all these struggles have as a common goal the achievement of basic democratic reforms."

Hyman Lumer, "Organized Labor and Government," Political Affairs, April, 1964, pp. 20-21.

"THE FIGHT against poverty and unemployment is a fight against the giant monopolies...."

"The key to success lies therefore, in uniting all these forces in common battle against the trusts. And for this, the primary responsibility lies with organized labor, which must mobilize all workers in the struggle, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, young and old. The combined action of labor with other sections of the people is equally vital, above all its unity with the Negro people."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

"More than ever today, the labor movement, the Negro people, the peace forces, all the forces of progress and democracy will need to develop unity in action and unity for action to a degree greater than ever."

The Worker,
June 7, 1964, p. 12.

5. International Solidarity for Peace, Brotherhood, Prosperity

"THE HISTORIC MISSION of our working class is not only to free itself, the Negro people, and all deprived strata of this capitalist society from exploitation and oppression at the hand of the monopolists, and to make a rich and new life for the masses, but it also bears the responsibility of safeguarding all that is worthy in the national heritage and all creations of civilization.

"Its destiny is to lead the nation to new heights of international fraternity and service to humanity...."

"The preservation of peace is the first task of honor of our working class and of the workers of the whole world...."

The Worker,
April 19, 1964, p. 2.

"... IN OUR own country are the workers through their unions challenged by their brothers throughout the world to intensify activities in behalf of peace. The outrages against the people of Vietnam... must be stopped...."

"The workers the world around are no less anxious that our trade unions and our working people act to impress upon our government the necessity for putting an end to the provocations against Cuba and to reestablish peaceful diplomatic and trade relations with her."

"Now with the Civil Rights bill being threatened by a lynching in the Senate chamber, every trade union local and international, indeed, every worker is challenged to take special measures to compel the Senate to act to pass this bill which is so vital for democracy and for the unity of the working class in our country."

"... we witness a growing unity of action among Negro and white workers in struggle for their common urgent needs, and a greater awareness than ever of the need for solidarity with the working people in all lands to further the cause of peace, brotherhood and prosperity."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, pp. 1, 3.

"WARMEST congratulations and fraternal greetings to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of France..."

"We can well recall the fact that the ties of international working class solidarity and friendship of the people of our two countries have been expressed through many events since the very days of the founding of our country...."

"... unity can bring a halt to the dirty war program of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam.... can bring an end to invasions against Cuba and to imperialist intervention in Latin America.... can speed the end of colonialism

everywhere... can create a renewed upsurge for all forces of democracy, peace and socialism in accord with the basis demands of workers in all lands."

The Worker,
May 19, 1964, p. 4.

"Warmest congratulations and fraternal greetings...the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia..."

"The normal bonds of international working class solidarity calls for unity to defeat every threat to world peace. The aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism against the peoples of Southeast Asia and especially the dirty war in South Vietnam can be halted by the unity of all peace forces which are strengthened by the unity of the Communist movement on the world scene. Your courageous stand against all threats of thermonuclear war is a service to the cause of socialism."

The Worker,
June 2, 1964, p. 2.

"GUS HALL, leading Communist spokesman, expressed appreciation to the Polish United Workers Party for its support in the struggle for democracy in the U.S. and for the preservation of world peace, in a message last week to the coming national congress of the party."

"We take this occasion to express our appreciation for your expressions of solidarity and support to our struggle against efforts to outlaw the Communist Party, U.S.A. and to destroy democracy in our land. We also express our appreciation for your work in behalf of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Your stand for peace has a special meaning in these days when American imperialism wages a dirty war in South Vietnam, a war against which masses of American people protest. The ties of solidarity between the people of your country and the American people go deep..."

The Worker,
June 16, 1964, p. 4.

IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. Socialism promotes technical agricultural progress for the better living of the entire people rather than for the profit of a special class.
2. Millions of independent farmers in this country are being struck down under capitalism, not socialism. Under socialism, competitive production is replaced by cooperative effort.
3. To enable them to remain on their farms, small farmers should be given low-interest Government credit and other aid now available only to big capitalist farmers. Sharecroppers should receive special assistance in order that they can secure and maintain their own farms.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Socialist Technical Progress Benefits Entire People, Not Special Class

"CAPITALISM lately made rapid technical progress in agriculture because new circumstances made it profitable to the capitalists. But to realize the most profits, capitalism restricts application of that technique by curtailing acreage and destroying surpluses.

"Socialism promotes maximum technical advance at all times, for the better living of the entire people rather than for the profit of a special class."

The Worker,
March 22, 1964, p. 5.

"Inherent in the plight of the masses of farmers is the contradiction between capital and family-farm agriculture, a contradiction which the

spokesmen for capitalism deny. Capitalism precludes maintenance of the status quo for the masses of farmers; technical progress under capitalism continuously undermines the existing family-size agricultural structure."

Erik Bert, "Our Changing Farm Economy," Political Affairs, June, 1964, p. 43.

2. Capitalism, Not Socialism, Enemy of Independent Farmer in U.S.

"For over a century the propagandists for capitalism have proclaimed that socialism is the enemy of the independent farmer. But here, in the U.S., the farmers have been struck down in millions, not by socialism or communism, but by capitalism. Whereas, under socialism, 'independent' competitive production is replaced by cooperative effort, in the U.S. the competition of six million has given way to the competition of three million, who are trapped in an even more aggravated struggle for survival.

"The capitalist development of our agriculture has victimized the noncapitalist and least-capitalist farms, and has encouraged the most-capitalist farms, the farms with the biggest capital investment."

Erik Bert, "Our Changing Farm Economy," Political Affairs, June, 1964, p. 45.

3. Extend Additional Aid to Small Farmers

"MAKE LOW-INTEREST government credit and other forms of government aid, now confined to the big capitalist farms, available to small farmers to enable them to remain on their farms and to secure a decent livelihood from them.

"Provide price supports to small farmers in the form of direct payments to farmers of the difference between market prices and 100 percent of parity.

"Extend unemployment compensation, minimum wage, social security and other benefits to all farm laborers.

"Give special assistance to Negro and white sharecroppers to enable them to secure and maintain their own farms."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

"...The goal of federal action must be to succor farm families, not to aid 'agriculture,' for the latter always implies disregard of the farmers. A qualitative change in outlook is, thus, the first order of business."

Erik Bert, "Our Changing Farm Economy," Political Affairs,
June, 1964, p. 46.

V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. The days of imperialism and neocolonialism are numbered. The chains of imperialism have been broken in all continents except South America. The common people of North and South America will soon become good partners, but not in the Alliance for Progress.
2. The tidal wave of anticolonialism that swept Asia and Africa has engulfed Latin America. The struggle of the people of Panama for national dignity and independence from Wall Street-Washington domination is a part of the world-wide rising against colonialism.
3. The socialist, particularly the Soviet, umbrella has made it possible for the militant struggles of the people in colonial lands to achieve success.
4. History shows that Marxism-Leninism is the only road to freedom from exploitation and oppression.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Days of Imperialism and Neocolonialism Are Numbered

"THE PANAMANIAN events are at this moment sparking the most explosive situation in the whole colonial world. This upsurge is an integral part of the oppressed peoples' determination to bring an end to colonialism everywhere.

"In all other continents the chains of imperialism have either been shattered or broken. Only in the Latin American continent are the brutal economic policies of imperialism in full force. Now, that continent demands full freedom..."

The Worker,
January 19, 1964, p. 3.

"... the days of imperialism and neo-colonialism are numbered. The common people of North and South America will in fact become good partners in the not too distant future--but not in an imperialist dominated Alliance for Progress."

John Alfred, "Latin America in Ferment," Political Affairs, May, 1964, p. 65.

2. Panama Part of World-Wide Rising against Colonialism

"The struggle of the people of Panama for national dignity and independence from Wall Street-Washington domination is a part of the world wide rising of all...oppressed people against colonialism; it is an extension of the 'Freedom Now' crusade of the Negro people of the U.S...."

The Worker,
January 21, 1964, p. 8.

"The tidal wave of anti-colonialism, of freedom and national sovereignty, that swept Asia and Africa has engulfed Latin America. The explosive outbreak in Panama on January 9th, and the continuing defiance of this tiny nation, with a population of just over a million, against the Colossus of the North, is symbolic of the seething determination to rid the hemisphere of U.S. imperialist domination...."

"The interests of the people of our country lie on the side of the just cause of the Republic of Panama, and not on that of the U.S. monopolists who plunder Latin America...."

"The Panama Crisis,"
Political Affairs,
March, 1964, pp. 3, 8.

3. Socialist Umbrella Shields Struggles in Colonial Lands

"WHO CAN NOW DENY that it is the existence of the Socialist countries, and in the first place the Soviet Union, that has made possible the historic mass leap to independence and freedom by scores of nations and peoples within a very short period of years? The upsurge in the militant struggles of the peoples in the colonial lands is the basic ingredient for victory. But the powerful Socialist umbrella made it possible for these struggles to achieve a dramatic breakthrough...."

The Worker,
May 17, 1964, p. 3.

4. Marxism-Leninism Only Road to Escape from Exploitation

"History shows that no people has been completely free from exploitation and national oppression except by the road of Marxism-Leninism...."

The Worker,
April 19, 1964, p. 9.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line

1. The tax law is class legislation weighted in the interests of the rich. We need basic reforms that will plug all loopholes and shift the tax burden from the working people to the giant corporations and wealthy individuals.
2. The McCarran Act is unconstitutional. The Communist Party, USA, is not the agent of any foreign power. There are no organizational ties with any other party, while religious, labor, business, and other organizations do have international ties.
3. Medicare can be the first step in the right direction, but further social legislation is needed.
4. A crash program of public works and expanded apprenticeship training would help provide jobs for all able and willing to work.
5. All existing antilabor legislation should be repealed.
6. The American people should take up the fight with the President and their own Senators and Congressmen to commence a new course of equality and peaceful relation with Cuba, to act on Medicare, and to make a radical shift away from aggression and toward peace in respect to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Tax Cut Is Class Legislation Weighted in Interests of Rich

"All in all, the tax law will bring some relief to the low and middle income groups, but the bulk of the relief to individual taxpayers as well as that to corporations will go to the high income groups...."

"A major feature is the continuation of the loopholes by which the big corporations, the very rich and the oil magnates rob the government of billions of dollars. In general, Congress eliminated all the meaningful tax reform proposals which might have closed some of these loopholes and without much of an Administration fight."

"Clearly this is class legislation weighted in the interests of the rich. And because of this the actual benefits of the tax cut in stimulating the economy and increasing employment is nowhere near the claims being made for it."

The Worker,
February 16, 1964, p. 10.

"In the area of tax relief, what is called for is a total structural reform to release all with incomes-below \$10,000 from any tax obligation, and to put the tax burden on those corporate interests and individuals most able to pay."

The Worker,
March 29, 1964, p. 9.

"Enact basic tax reforms which will plug all loopholes and shift the tax burden from the working people to the giant corporations and wealthy individuals. Raise personal exemptions to \$1,200 and abolish the withholding tax. Eliminate excise and sales taxes on necessities, which bear most heavily on the lowest income groups."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

2. McCarran Act Unconstitutional; CPUSA Not Agent of Foreign Power

"The McCarran Act sets tighter borders upon freedom of thought. . .

"It prescribes a code by means of which ideas can be tested.

"It outlaws, for the first time in American history, a political party, whose views are not unconstitutional.

"It abolishes the right of travel for many native-born citizens."

"THE McCARRAN ACT: FACT AND FANCY,"
Political Affairs,
January, 1964, p. 13.

"... the Communist Party is 'an American working class party with its roots and ties and responsibilities to the American people.' ...

"... the party will always learn from the experiences and achievements and mistakes of the communists of other lands... there are 'no organizational ties between the Communist Party of the U.S. and any other party. We are perhaps the only major organization without any such international ties, while the religious, labor and business organizations as well as others have such ties.' ...

The Worker,
February 2, 1964, p. 2.

" 'The American Communist Party is not the agent of any foreign power... Its link with the Soviet Union is stated only in the McCarran Act...' "

The Worker,
April 26, 1964, p. 7.

"THE SUPREME COURT decision of June 8th confirms the victory in the December, 1963 decision of the Court of Appeals... The contention of the Party that their officers are protected by the Fifth Amendment's provision against self-incrimination was upheld by the Appeals Court. "

"This is a valuable turning point in the road towards complete victory, after 14 years of struggle. The road ahead should now be short... We

rightly celebrate and cheer this victory but we must prepare for more determined struggles to end the McCarran Act and bury it with McCarthy and McCarran."

The Worker,
June 16, 1964, p. 2.

3. Medicare Can Be First Step in Right Direction; Additional Social Legislation

"The labor movement, the Negro people's movement, the ordinary people still have the job of fighting for a tax program based on ability to pay and for a genuine attack on poverty, for jobs, for higher minimum wages...for improvement in social security, for Medicare, for more and better housing, hospitals, schools and transportation."

The Worker,
February 16, 1964, p. 10.

"THE ADMINISTRATION'S medicare program is sorely inadequate. But, even then it is the target of attack by all who are more concerned with the private interests of the insurance companies, the medical profession and group plans.

"The Administration's program becomes the focal point of the fight for the economic security, the individual dignity and the social usefulness of the older citizen, and for the concept of government and society's responsibility.

"The Administration medicare program does not really answer these needs nor fully embrace these concepts. But it can be made a first step in that direction..."

The Worker,
March 15, 1964, p. 8.

"Raise social security pensions to a minimum of \$200 a month for a single individual with \$100 additional for spouse.

"Permit retirement at 60 years of age with full benefits."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

"WHY SHOULD we pay five times as much as it costs for the same medicine applied to a dog? Or for the same professional treatment?"

"... all too many doctors do oppose even the fragmentary concession to workers' basic needs embodied in the present Medicare bill."

"Voters can use the election campaign to get candidates to commit themselves to help insure passage of the existing bill, and especially to help enact more far reaching legislation next year...."

The Worker,
May 31, 1964, p. 5.

4. Public Works; Apprenticeship Training

"... 1964's intensified boom still fails to offer promise of unemployment relief. Most employers can handle any prospective production increases with existing staff, so long as hours remain uncut and overtime unlimited. Employment cuts by some munitions contractors and paring of white collar staffs by large corporations may offset the few increases elsewhere."

"Labor's logical objectives are to take advantage of the boom and the small cut in the arms budget to win higher wages and especially minimum

wages, a reduction in working hours, a big public works program, and an opening of trade with socialist countries. Each of these could provide far more employment and security than the tax cut."

The Worker,
March 15, 1964, p. 5.

"...JOBS FOR ALL ABLE AND WILLING TO WORK

"LAUNCH a crash public works program at union wages, starting with a minimum outlay of \$10 billion the first year and rising to \$20 billion a year thereafter, the funds to come from a progressive reduction of military expenditures. Such a program should concentrate especially on building housing, schools, hospitals, etc., in Negro ghetto and other depressed areas and on providing suitable employment in areas affected by reconversion to peacetime production."

"Expand apprenticeship training programs to twice their present size, with guarantees against displacement of older workers and with preferential enrollment of Negro and other minority youth."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

5. Repeal Antilabor Laws

"REPEAL all existing anti-labor legislation and return to the principles embodied in the Wagner Labor Relations Act, to secure the ability of labor to safeguard and raise the living standards of workers in all states and regions.

"Enact new legislation to abolish regional wage differentials, end the runaway shop evil, and guarantee equal pay for equal work regardless of age, sex, race or religion."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

6. Demands on Congress and the President

"The danger exists therefore, of escalating the South Vietnamese war for independence into one in which the American people will have to sacrifice scores of thousands of its youth in a vain effort to keep back the waves of freedom.

"The people can halt this perilous trend, by making known to President Johnson, their own congressmen and senators, and Sen. Mike Mansfield, by letter, wire, and delegations that they want U. S. troops and all other aid withdrawn from South Vietnam, that they want the South Vietnamese to have the right to decide their own destinies."

The Worker,
March 8, 1964, p. 14.

"We urge all our readers and friends to urge every trade union, fraternal and other organization, including senior citizen, womes, youth and nationality groups, to call on their Congressmen and Chairman Wilbur Mills for action on the medicare bill, and to notify President Johnson of their support on this issue."

The Worker,
May 5, 1964, p. 2.

"The vital interest of our people in world peace, the ever-increasing material interest of our people--beset by a chronic unemployment and need for millions of new jobs--in friendly relations with our neighbor countries for the sake of increasing trade and commerce; these considerations of our own self interest, quite aside from loftier requirements of justice, morality, urgently call for new demands upon President Johnson to restore normal and equal diplomatic relations with Cuba."

The Worker,
May 26, 1964, p. 2.

"Only the intervention of the people, only through the mobilization of the widest and fullest expression of public opinion on the part of the trade

union, the church denominations, the student youth, the organizations of the Negro people's movement for freedom and equality can bring about the required change in policy. All the fraternal, civic and socially-minded associations of Americans should now concert their strength and focus their demands upon Washington to make a radical shift away from aggression and toward the consolidation of peace in respect to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Cuba on the one hand, and to force through a victory for the Civil Rights bill in the Senate on the other."

The Worker,
May 31, 1964, p. 3.

"...Every American with a concern for the nation's welfare and for elementary human rights and justice should support the appeal to the President to use the Federal government's power to take full control over the rebel state and 'restore law and order and protect the life and liberties of all citizens in Mississippi.'"

The Worker,
June 30, 1964, p. 6.

VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. For their own protection, the American people must end the dictatorial and aggressive activities of the military-industrial complex. The Pentagon careerists and the armament contractors are the only people made happy by President Johnson's bomb-waving address to the graduating class of the Coast Guard Academy.
2. The war in Vietnam brings misery to the people, dishonor to its sponsors, and death to thousands of Americans.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Dictatorial Power and Aggressiveness by Military-Industrial Complex

"... experiences with the relatively trivial matter of Pentagon releases confirms the validity of the critiques contained in Dr. Strangelove, Seven Days in May, Fail Safe. For their own protection, the American people must end the dictatorial power and aggressive activities of the military-industrial complex."

The Worker,
April 12, 1964, p. 5.

"The military contractors, the generals and admirals, the ultra-Right, the racists, all those with vested interests in the cold war, are unhappy about President Johnson's speech of last Monday, precisely because it is another step in the relaxation of international tensions, because it marks another stage in destroying the false image of 'an external menace.' "

The Worker,
April 26, 1964, p. 1.

"THE VOICE may have been the voice of President Johnson but the words were the words of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, when the

President made a bomb-waving address to the graduating class of the Coast Guard Academy at New London, Conn., last Thursday...."

"The only people who will be made happy by this are Pentagon careerists and those vested interests among the armaments contractors to the government..."

The Worker,
June 9, 1964, p. 1.

2. Vietnam Means Death for American Soldier and Shame for American People

"Further intervention in South Vietnam can mean only the death of thousands of Americans and many thousands more of South Vietnam. And the ultimate result can only be defeat for the U.S. and ineradicable shame for the American people."

The Worker,
February 25, 1964, p. 2.

"Vietnam's war is a project of a capitalist government trying to resurrect a dying policy of colonialism-imperialism, it brings only misery to the people and dishonor to its sponsors."

The Worker,
May 19, 1964, p. 2.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. The New York press has "conjured-up" a crime wave out of the misery, degradation, and want of Negro youth. The so-called "crime wave" has been converted into a veritable tidal wave of anti-Negro incitations by irresponsible hirelings of the journalists' profession.
2. Communists have a long and honorable record of advocating full freedom and equality for Negroes.
3. The Soviet Union was the first state in the world to practice equality of races and nationalities. Equality and friendship are cardinal principles of the teachings of Marx and Lenin.
4. The Negro people's revolutionary struggle is mobilizing, activizing, and educating in the art of struggle all the class forces requisite for the conduct of the general revolution against the reign of the monopolists and for socialism. The struggle is developing as part of the struggle of all peoples oppressed by imperialism.
5. Federal marshals and troops should be sent anywhere in the South to safeguard the rights of the people to exercise their constitutional rights. Nothing short of total Federal stewardship of the State will meet Mississippi's arrogant challenge.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. New York Press Conjured-Up Negro Crime Wave

"THIS WEEK IN NEW YORK the Big City press has been dedicating its front pages and biggest and boldest type to trumpeting tales of terror which raiding bands of Negro youth are allegedly perpetrating against defenseless white neighborhoods."

"Every crime of violence in the city is angled into the news reports in such a slant as to suggest an association or origin in 'rampaging Negro hoodlumism.'

"In short, the newspapers have put together a 'Negro crime wave' which mounts in fury as it floods out from Harlem with every new edition of newspapers.

"The staid New York Times is in a breakneck contest with the pepped-up Herald Tribune, and both are out to match the blatant Daily News, and the sensation-mongering Journal-American and World-Telegram, in milking all the circulation they can from this 'crime wave' which they have conjured-up out of the misery, degradation and want of the Negro youth of the ghettos."

"THE SO-CALLED 'crime wave' of Negro youth vandalism has been converted into a veritable tidal wave of anti-Negro incitations and luridly colored inflammatory conjurings from the typewriters of irresponsible hirelings of the journalists' profession..."

The Worker,
June 7, 1964, pp. 1, 11.

2. Communists Have Always Advocated Full Freedom and Equality

"... 'We Communists have a long and honorable record in fighting against racism, segregation and discrimination. We always advocated full freedom and equality for the Negro Americans. Yes, Communists are in that struggle today. We don't control it. We work in every such struggle.' "

The Worker,
March 1, 1964, p. 3.

"... The current upsurge of the Negro people supported by a large section of the white population, marks a new high. But when the Worker was

launched with the goal of full equality for the Negro people one of its major goals, there were not many Negroes in all the trade unions of America as there are in just one of the major unions today. Most unions either barred Negroes or closed the doors to them through technicalities.

"The pages of *The Worker*, however, gave prominence to every manifestation of the fight against discrimination. The founding of the Negro Labor Congress in 1925 left leadership was one of the first of a chain of organizations for basically the same objectives that followed in later years. Only *The Worker* of that time contained the discussions and experiences on fighting jimcrow in employment and unions, the very problems we are still grappling with today."

The Worker,
March 8, 1964, pp. 8, 13.

"THE STRUGGLE for Negro freedom is a dead-serious pursuit. Its justification is not to be sought in the decorous manner of those who fight its battles, but in the death-dealing slum conditions which have been produced from a profit-motivated segregation and discrimination system which grinds in its maw over 20 million Americans who are Negroes. The only question of relevancy in the area of manner and forms of the struggle is the question of whether the particular tactic allows for mass expression for both the Negro victims of discrimination and for mass solidarity on the part of their white allies."

"WE BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE to secure economic, political and social justice to the Negro people short of bringing all the wheels of the country to a halt. But if that should be what it would take to secure to the Negro people their rightful share in the democracy, that is what will be. But should the stubbornness of the nation's ruling clique compel such a general stoppage in the country before securing to the Negro his equal rights, one thing will be sure, the economy will be starting up again under a new management, and the plain people will have displaced the privileged scions of the establishment in government at all vital levels.

"We wish success to the World's Fair Stall-In for Civil Rights Now!"

The Worker,
April 21, 1964, p. 2.

"THERE IS TALK among Democrats of importing Robert F. Kennedy or Adlai Stevenson to run against the GOP Sen. Kenneth Keating, but very little is being said about Changing the lily white character of the U.S. Senate."

"The liberal Party recently included Ralph Bunche among those it suggested as possible Democratic nominees for U. S. Senate from N. Y."

"But whether it is Bunche or someone else, no section of the population has recently produced as many vigorous, talented courageous fighters for democracy as has the embattled Negro people.

"The voices of such Americans as Rev. Martin Luther King, James Farmer, and A. Philip Randolph, have been heard throughout the land.

"It is time to hear such voices in the Senate."

"Such a nomination would be a ringing answer by the people of New York to the racist, reactionary, pro-war coalition rallying around Goldwater."

The Worker,
June 16, 1964, p. 3.

3. Soviet Union First State To Practice Equality of Races and Nationalities

"...there were white people playing a role that history had never seen before, they were practicing equality and happiness to those nations and

nationalities which in our country were considered as colored and were subjected to discrimination.

"The Soviet Union was the first state in the world which put an end to exploitation and solved the national problem carrying out in practice the equality of people of all races and nationalities. The Soviet state also rendered moral and political support to other peoples fighting for national liberation."

The Worker,
April 5, 1964, pp. 6-7.

"... What I would like all the American people to understand is that equality and friendship is a cardinal principle of the teachings of Marx and Lenin. This is what Marxism-Leninism offers all people."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 9.

4. Negro Mobilizing, Activizing, Educating Class Forces Requisite for Social Revolution

"The Negro peoples revolutionary struggle is mobilizing and activizing and educating in the arts of struggle all the class forces requisite for conduct of the general social revolution for conducting successful struggles for genuine economic and political democracy, and for advancing the cause of the general social revolution against the reign of the monopolists as such, for a new stage in the advancement of the nation, for socialism."

The Worker,
March 29, 1964, p. 9.

"As to the civil rights revolution of the Negro people in the U.S., this movement is developing as part of the struggle of all peoples oppressed by imperialism."

The Worker,
April 14, 1964, p. 4.

5. Federal Trusteeship in Jacksonville; Federal Stewardship of
Mississippi; Marshals and Troops Elsewhere in South

"Jacksonville Requires Federal Trusteeship"

"... the Jacksonville situation demands an extraordinary response from the Federal authority, it calls for the Administration--the President and the Attorney General--to counterpose to the defiant city authorities the full power of the Federal government: it calls for the Administration to establish a FEDERAL TRUSTEESHIP over Jacksonville until new free elections can be held in order to safeguard the lives and liberties of its citizens from the abuse and misuse of power by the local officials and police.

"The murderous events in Jacksonville challenge all to demand of Washington to act to establish justice and to safeguard the rights of the people to exercise their Constitutional freedoms. The Department of Justice must send Federal Marshalls in effective numbers and the President must stand ready to send Federal Troops to uphold the Negro citizen's right to the exercise of his freedom in Jacksonville as elsewhere and anywhere throughout the South."

The Worker,
March 29, 1964, p. 3.

"THE TERROR in Alabama must be the concern of all Americans.

"We urge all of our readers to call on President Johnson to intervene now, for only federal action can bring protection to the Negro people there.

"We ask our readers also to urge their union locals, churches and civic groups to make their appeals to the President at once."

The Worker,
June 14, 1964, p. 1.

"Mississippi is an outlaw, a bandit preying upon the liberties and plundering citizens of these United States of their Constitutionally-proclaimed inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"The clear and commanding duty of the President of the United States is inescapable..."

"Nothing will meet Mississippi's arrogant challenge short of total Federal stewardship of the State until its citizens, relieved of the present ruling tyranny, can be enabled to reconstitute its official life in conformity with... the Constitution of the United States."

The Worker,
June 30, 1964, pp. 2, 6.

IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. Defenseless, though reluctant, high school students are given compulsory courses in communism--more accurately described as anticommunism. These courses, imposed by unfeeling educational authorities, are taught by ill-prepared teachers.
2. Sufficient Federal aid should be given to education to end teacher and classroom shortages. Education should be compulsory through 14 years. Living stipends should be provided to students, and there should be a national system of tuition-free colleges.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Reluctant Students Taught "Anti-Communism" by Ill-Prepared Teachers

"More than ever, Communism is being studied in the United States today. Alas, however, many of the students are reluctant scholars taking required courses imposed by unfeeling educational authorities upon defenseless high school kids. In many communities throughout the country, bored youths are compelled to memorize the approved answers to questions propounded by ill-prepared teachers--questions about class struggle, proletarian dictatorship, 'Soviet imperialism' and other current figments and realities.

"Let it not be thought for a moment that, in teaching 'Communism,' a fourth 'R'--Revolution--has been added to the conventional three. The courses, which have become compulsory for so many young Americans, are more accurately describable as courses in anti-Communism. Consequently Communists can take no joy in the spectacle of our young people having to cram so much misinformation into their heads at a time when all available space therein is sorely needed for social, scientific and suchlike studies."

A. W. Font, "What, Indeed, Is Communism?," Political Affairs, April, 1964, p. 61.

2. Massive Financial Aid from Federal Government

"The Mayor can begin his war on poverty by leading the people of N. Y. in a battle with Albany and Washington for massive financial aid to the nation's crisis-ridden and largest school system. "

The Worker,
April 28, 1964, p. 8.

"Provide federal aid to education sufficient to end all teacher and classroom shortages and to make possible extension of compulsory education through fourteen years of school by payment of living stipends to students.

"Make college education available to all through a national system of tuition-free colleges, with special aid to facilities the attendance of Negro youth and complete enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. "

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. A renaissance of American literature--arts in general--has been simmering for some time. Life fashions literature and is, in turn, fashioned by it. Recent movies, "Dr. Strangelove," "Seven Days in May," and "Point of Order," are a reflection of the growing revulsion to war. Radical songs are spreading everywhere. Agreements and disagreements in ideas between writers of East and West are being aired.
2. The social structure must correspond with the works of science. The age of nuclear miracles calls for a social structure that is itself a product of science and responsive to its laws.
3. The new relationship of people under communism has a creative quality that brings scientific and cultural achievement.
4. In view of a common aim--the betterment of mankind--there is no reason that Catholics and communists cannot initiate united activities to achieve this aim.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. A Renaissance of the Arts

"I BELIEVE we are in for a renaissance, if you will, of American literature, of the arts in general. It has been simmering quite a while. . . ."

"LIFE fashions literature, and in turn, is also fashioned by it. The primary fact of our moment is the Negro upsurge in our country. To overlook that, and its consequences, is to overlook a cyclone. The phenomenon is central to our contemporary national life, and hence to our thought. James Baldwin, for example, has become a national tribune, his name (and his message) is known to millions. Contrast that with only yesterday, when a Negro had to become the heavyweight champion of the world to gain the publicist's attention off the sports page.

"...three Negro playwrights will have their works on Broadway this fall...."

"...all this has its inevitable impact upon the young whites. Youth responds to youth, as we know, and when the whites see the Negro youngsters face police dog and electric prod out of an exalted dedication, it has its effect...."

"The revolution on the Negro rights issue marches at the side of the growing revulsion against war...."

"The movie, Dr. Strangelove, is a reflection, a response, to this mood of people, and grows out of it naturally. As does the movie 'Seven Days in May,' as does the movie about the McCarthy madness, 'Point of Order.' Inextricably linked to all this is the impulse for a strengthened democracy the defense of the First Amendment's guarantees."

"...The ferment is aswirl, the search, the quest, the button-holing, the hot swing of argument. A national dialogue is shaping up. False prophets find their audiences dwindle."

The Worker,
March 15, 1964, p. 6.

"...it's wonderful that the climate in America has changed so much, and that 'radical' songs are now again spreading everywhere, and the people's song movement, that forgotten voice of our democracy, has risen from the grave where Senator McCarthy thought he had forever buried it."

The Worker,
March 29, 1964, p. 6.

"THE MEANINGFUL exchange of ideas between writers of East and West--socialist and non-socialist--is growing. Agreements and disagreements are being aired...."

"A word on how matters seem to be developing at home: conflicting judgements on the nature of art, of literature, trends and perspectives, are increasingly being heard. Questioning is rising in all areas.

"Re-evaluation is nothing new, of course; each age spotlights a literature which the dominant forces of that period push onto the stage."

The Worker,
April 12, 1964, p. 5.

2. Social Structure Must Correspond with Age of Science

"... Dr. Szilard... His scientific genius contributed to ushering in a totally new age of man--the nuclear age. His sacrificial and dedicated labors in behalf of peace illustrated and set an example for all to fulfill the social and humanist requirement that accompanies this age of scientific wonder. The social order must be made to correspond with the works of science, for the fate and well-being of mankind to be secured and enriched with the vast potential of the material abundance inherent in this age. The age of the nuclear miracles calls for a social structure which is itself a product of science and responsive to its laws--a science of society."

The Worker,
June 2, 1964, p. 2.

3. Communism Promotes Scientific and Cultural Achievement

"Jackson emphasized 'the social responsibility of the individual as vital to the healthy growth of the individual personality.'"

"Condemning the 'racism engendered by capitalism,' he pointed to 'the new relationship among people under socialism and communism as having that creative quality which brings social and individual advancement, an end to poverty and insecurity, a new era of scientific and cultural achievement.'"

The Worker,
April 19, 1964, p. 10.

4. Common Purpose--Betterment of Mankind--Basis for
Catholic-Communist Dialogue

"...dialogue has since further expanded, including personal discussions and exchanges of views between Catholic and Communist spokesmen...

"...As the exchanges develop, the areas of agreement keep expanding. And they will continue to do so to the extent that the participants all start from the same basic premise--that they are all sincerely interested in the betterment and progress of mankind.

"We Communists, of course, are always ready and willing to take an additional step along this path. It is our conviction that as long as there are areas of agreement, there is no reason why we cannot initiate united activities to achieve these aims."

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"...Pope John's Encyclical has truly opened the door to a new direction, a new course of action for the Church. And with this it has opened the door to meaningful dialogue between Catholics and Communists, for the basis of such a dialogue can be provided only by a common purpose in the all-important struggle for peace, freedom and human progress in our day."

Gus Hall, "Myths Or Realities:
Communists and Catholics," Political
Affairs, May, 1964, pp. 16, 21.

XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. After a century of a women's rights movement in this country, women in other lands are forging ahead more rapidly.
2. In the Soviet Union, good jobs are not so scarce that women are taught to keep away from them.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Women Forging Ahead in Other Lands

"HERE WE flatter ourselves that all is well and the boast is that compared to all other countries American women are in a favorable position. But this can bear investigation. A few questions will point it up.

"How many Negro women eligible to vote will be allowed to vote in the South in 1964?"

"Why is there not a single woman in the President's Cabinet or on the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO?"

"What local unions of any size, especially where women members are in the majority, have a woman president?"

"What women's colleges have women as their heads?"

"Why is there such a small percentage of women doctors and dentists in the U.S., compared to the USSR? Or women architects, engineers, congressmen and Senators? Are there any women State Governors?"

"These are disturbing questions after a century of a women's rights movement in the U.S., especially when women are forging ahead so rapidly in other lands."

The Worker,
March 22, 1964, p. 7.

2. Good Jobs Not So Scarce in Soviet Union

"... What makes the Russians different is not language or geography, but their social system, in which good jobs are not so scarce that women are taught to keep away from them."

The Worker,
April 21, 1964, p. 5.

XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. The streets are classrooms for democratic struggles, as demonstrated by the 450,000 Negro, Puerto Rican, and white youths who participated in the boycott of the public schools of New York City on February 3.
2. This country should put into effect a job-training program for unemployed youth. All unable to find work should receive unemployment compensation.
3. The military should have no prominent role in operating any schools for retraining and rehabilitating youthful victims of poverty.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Streets Are Classrooms for Democratic Struggles

"...the New York City public school boycott demonstration...."

"Staged by more than 450,000 Negro, Puerto Rican and white youth on Feb. 3, it was an event that marks a new high in terms of unity in the battle for a free America. Its political significance is not to be measured by the number of its participants, as important as that was.

"There was in this demonstration an ideological advance. It has not, however, brought complete understanding that the struggles Negroes are leading hold the future of American democracy. This is a weakness that is curable."

"For youth today, the streets are classrooms for democratic struggles."

The Worker,
February 18, 1964, p. 3.

2. Unemployment Compensation and Job Training

"... a National Youth Act designed to meet all job, training, educational, recreational and health needs of American youth, with effective representation of youth, labor and civil rights organizations in its administration.

"As part of such a measure, enact the Administration's job corps, working-training and work-study proposals for unemployed youth and students, on a greatly expanded scale and with special aid to facilitate the undercutting union wages, against all forms of discrimination and against military control or influence over the proposed conservation camps."

"Make all young people entering the labor force and unable to find work eligible to receive unemployment compensation."

The Worker,
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

3. Schools for Poverty Victims Must Not Be Military Camps

"... we have the announcement from Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense, that the Army would be happy to take over the administration of a contemplated program for giving literacy and vocational training to 100,000 school drop-outs, and youths who failed the draft tests because of educational or physical deficiencies.

"In other words, the Army would take over the job of waging the so-called 'war on poverty.' The schools for retraining and rehabilitating the youthful victims of poverty would be military camps and barracks under the direction and command of the Army brass.

"Labor and progressive forces must be vigilant against any schemes which are brought forth assigning a prominent role to the military in the name of security from poverty (which capitalism breeds for many millions at the bottom of its system, while it pours out billions in profits for the few at the top end).

"Already, the greatest danger to democracy in our country is represented by the 'industrial-military' complex at the top with its political manifestations in the ultra-Right and Goldwater reactionary threats and influences on governmental policies."

"The people must make it clear to President Johnson that, in the war against poverty which we want waged with real vigor, there must nevertheless be no time for sergeants and no place for any other military manikins of the Pentagon."

The Worker,
February 23, 1964, p. 3.